



THESES
OF THE CENTRAL
COMMITTEE,
COMMUNIST PARTY
OF THE SOVIET UNION,
ON THE CENTENARY
OF THE BIRTH OF
VLADIMIR ILYICH LENIN

LENIN'S IDEAS
AND CAUSE
ARE
IMMORTAL

ON THE
CENTENARY
OF THE BIRTH
OF V. I. LENIN

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C o n t e n t s

- I Lenin—Founder of the Proletarian Party of a New Type, Theoretician and Leader of the Socialist Revolution**
- II Socialism—Embodiment of the Ideas of Leninism**
- III Leninism Is the Banner of the Peoples' Struggle Against Imperialism, for the Revolutionary Renewal of the World**
- IV Along Lenin's Road—to Communism**

April 22, 1970, is the 100th anniversary of the birth of Vladimir Ilyich Ulyanov-Lenin, great continuer of the revolutionary teaching of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, founder of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, leader of the greatest social revolution and architect of the world's first socialist state, leader of the international working class, of all working people

A whole revolutionary epoch in the life of mankind is associated with the name and activities of Lenin. He supplied the answers to the most burning questions posed by history, comprehensively developed the theory of socialist revolution and the building of a communist society, gave the Russian and the international revolutionary movement a scientifically grounded strategy and tactics, and led the working-class struggle to translate the ideals of socialism into life. Socialism, turned by Marx and Engels from utopia into science and enriched by Lenin with new conclusions and discoveries, has been embodied in social practice on a world-wide scale and has become the main revolutionary force of our time.

From the beginning of his revolutionary activities Lenin firmly adopted the positions of Marxism, its revolutionary critical spirit, its creative and active character, and its proletarian internationalism. He de-

dicated his whole life to the cause of the emancipation of the working class, all working people, from exploitation and oppression, to the cause of socialist revolution and the building of a new, communist society

Lenin carried forward and enriched the theoretical legacy of his great teachers in the new historical conditions. He vigorously fought against attempts to turn the Marx-Engels doctrine into ossified, lifeless dogma. "We do not regard Marx's theory as something completed and inviolable," Lenin wrote. "On the contrary, we are convinced that it has only laid the foundation stone of the science which socialists must develop in all directions if they wish to keep pace with life" (*Coll Works, Engl Ed, Vol 4, p 211*). Lenin saw in the creative development of Marxism an essential condition for the effectiveness of revolutionary theory, a key to the theoretical and practical solution of the pressing tasks of the working class, an important means of combating Right-wing and "Left"-wing opportunism, dogmatism and revisionism of all shades.

Lenin was a political leader of a new type: a scholar, tribune and propagandist, an organizer of the masses. He was distinguished for his profound scientific approach in the analysis of events, sober assessment of the correlation and alignment of class forces, consistency and firmness in upholding Marxist principles, purposefulness in action, flexibility of tactics in the struggle, and selfless service to the interests and aims of the proletarian movement.

With Lenin, elaboration of theory and scientific policy was closely linked with the study and generalization of the experience of mass struggles. In the experience of the millions he sought and found answers to the burning questions of the working-class movement. An unexcelled strategist and tactician of the proletarian class struggle, Lenin was closely linked with the working people, was guided by their vital interests, ever sensitive to the life of the people,

he carefully studied the social psychology of the workers and peasants, of all strata of society, and took all this into account in working out political solutions

Lenin's whole life was an exploit. It was a life spent in creative thought and unflagging revolutionary action, in ideological and political battle. Lenin combined the most distinctive qualities of the proletarian revolutionary: a powerful intellect, an indomitable will, passionate hatred of slavery and oppression, revolutionary fervour, consistent internationalism, boundless faith in the creative powers of the masses, and immense organizational talent. His life and work were one with the struggle of the working class and the Communist Party.

Lenin's work, his teaching, exerted a powerful influence on the Russian and international liberation movement, imparting to it principled revolutionary direction and organization.

Leninism is the Marxism of the epoch of imperialism and proletarian revolutions, the epoch of the collapse of colonialism and the victory of national-liberation movements, the epoch of mankind's transition from capitalism to socialism and the building of communist society. "All the experience of world socialism and of the working class and national-liberation movements has confirmed the world significance of Marxist-Leninist teaching," says the Address 'Centenary of the Birth of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin' adopted by the International Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties. "The victory of the socialist revolution in a group of countries, the emergence of the world socialism system, the gains of the working class movement in capitalist countries, the appearance of peoples of former colonial and semi-colonial countries in the arena of socio-political developments as independent agents, and unprecedented upsurge of the struggle against imperialism — all this is proof that Leninism is historically correct and expresses the fundamental needs of the modern age."

Basic to Lenin's approach to social phenomena and processes is the organic unity of scientific objectivity and principled assessment from working-class positions. For Marxists-Leninists, for all true revolutionaries, Leninism is the methodology of revolutionary thinking and revolutionary action. It is constantly enriched by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the international Communist movement on the basis of experience gained in building socialism and communism, of the living practice of the liberation movement.

Drawing on the ideological legacy of Lenin, the Communist parties are carrying out extensive creative work and waging an uncompromising struggle against modern bourgeois ideology, against Rightist and "Leftist" distortions of revolutionary theory. Marxism-Leninism is a great international teaching. Any attempt to undermine the unity of Marxism-Leninism, artificially to break it up into various national or regional "variants" invariably ends in revision of the principles of the revolutionary teaching of the working class. That teaching is integral in nature and belongs to all Communists, all revolutionary workers, all working people.

Observing the centenary of Lenin's birth, the Soviet people, the peoples of the other socialist countries, the international working class, all progressive men and women turn again and again to the ideas and the works of the leader of the world proletariat and all working people, the great revolutionary and Communist who stood at the head of the forces implementing sweeping social reforms in the interests of the working people.

Observing the centenary of Lenin's birth the Soviet people, the peoples of the other socialist countries the international working class, all progressive people express their sincere admiration of the brilliant thinker. Lenin was a great scientist in revolution and a revolutionary in science who opened a new chapter in the development of Marxist theory and enriched all the

component parts of Marxism—philosophy, political economy and scientific communism.

Observing the centenary of Lenin's birth the Soviet people, the peoples of the other socialist countries, the international working class, all revolutionary fighters are reviewing their forces, defining their perspectives and tasks, and consolidating their unity in the fight for peace, democracy and socialism.

I. LENIN—FOUNDER OF THE PROLETARIAN PARTY OF A NEW TYPE, THEORETICIAN AND LEADER OF THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION

1 At the turn of the century world capitalism entered its last, imperialist stage. A revolutionary transition from capitalism to socialism became a vital need of social development. A turning point was reached in world history. The international proletariat emerged as the social force destined to head the struggle for the abolition of exploitation of man by man, for a radical reconstruction of the life of society. It fell to the Russian detachment of the international proletariat, led by the Party of Bolsheviks founded by Lenin, to begin the fulfilment of this lofty mission. In Leninism, which comprised the sum total of the experience of the entire working-class movement after Marx and Engels and evolved new forms of proletarian struggle and organization, the international working class acquired a powerful theoretical weapon, a comprehensively elaborated ideology and a programme of revolutionary action.

In the early 20th century Russia was the focus of the contradictions of world imperialism. It was racked by all the typical socio-economic contradictions of the world of that time: the contradictions between labour and capital, between developing capitalism and considerable survivals of feudal serfdom, between

highly developed industrial areas and backward out-lying districts These antagonisms were rendered particularly acute by the political, cultural and national oppression practised by the tsarist autocracy The social problems facing the country—the abolition of bondage to the landlords, emancipation of the working people from capitalist slavery and national oppression, and the need of socialist reforms—were also the main problems in many other countries

Russia was a country at a medium level of development of capitalism rapidly moving towards the monopoly phase Sharp contrasts were a characteristic feature of the Russian scene an agrarian country with a predominantly rural population, it had at the same time a high degree of concentration of industrial production and of revolutionary organization of the working class A big world power, it was invariably involved in rival imperialist blocs, while remaining dependent on the more developed capitalist states Russian culture gave the world classical works in literature, art and science Yet three-quarters of the population were illiterate

Tsarism and the landlord and bourgeois upper crust of Russia sought to preserve a system of social relations that had outlived its time Workers ruthlessly exploited by capital, peasants oppressed by landlords, and the oppressed peoples of the national outlying districts were rising to the struggle against the bourgeois-landlord system Russia proved the weakest link in the world system of imperialism In these conditions the working-class struggle for the democratic and socialist development of the country assumed world-historic significance In the words of Marx and Engels, Russia was an advanced detachment of the revolutionary movement in Europe

The working class, the main revolutionary force of society, rallied all the exploited around itself and waged a struggle against the tsarist autocracy and the bourgeoisie on an ever growing scale Concentrated at large enterprises in industrial areas, the proleta-

riat received a thorough revolutionary schooling under the guidance of the Marxist Party. In the course of sharp class struggles, reformist and other alien influences were overcome and the experience and the finest revolutionary traditions of the world proletariat fruitfully used.

From its initial steps in political struggle the Russian proletariat had the scientific theory of the emancipatory movement—the teaching of Marx and Engels—to draw on. The ground for the assimilation and application of Marxism in Russia was prepared by its socio-economic development, the sharpness of class contradictions, and revolutionary traditions originating in peasant revolts, in the activities of A. N. Radischchev and the Decembrists, A. I. Herzen, N. G. Chernyshevsky and other democrats of the 60s and the revolutionary Narodniks (Populists) of the 70s of last century.

The first Russian Marxists led by G. V. Plekhanov began actively to disseminate Marxist ideas in the 80s. The finest representatives of the revolutionary intelligentsia, together with the most politically conscious workers, brought Marxist ideas into the proletarian movement.

The credit for linking scientific socialism with the mass workers' movement, for developing Marxist theory in the new conditions and embodying it in the practice of the socialist revolution and socialist construction belongs to the Party of Bolsheviks led by Lenin.

2 Lenin believed that the formation and strengthening of a revolutionary working-class party was the decisive condition for the success of a socialist revolution. He saw in a proletarian party a mighty lever capable of "overturning Russia."

The building of the Party was preceded by tremendous ideological and theoretical work by Lenin, his criticism of petty-bourgeois Narodnik socialism and uncompromising struggle against reformist and other opportunist trends. Had not the ground been cleared in this way, it would have been impossible

for Marxism to be linked with the movement for emancipation and to establish the independent class line of the proletariat

The founding of the Party of Bolsheviks, a party of a new type, signified the victory of the Marxist, truly revolutionary trend in the working-class movement in Russia. For the first time in the history of the international socialist movement the programme of a working-class party called for the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the need of which for building a new society had been theoretically demonstrated by Marx and Engels and then thoroughly substantiated by Lenin. The Party led the struggle of the Russian proletariat, of the revolutionary masses, against the tsarist autocracy and capitalism.

Summing up the vast experience of the revolutionary movement, Lenin, in his "What Is To Be Done?", "One Step Forward, Two Steps Back" and other works, elaborated an integral teaching on the proletarian party of a new type.

Lenin conceived the party as the vanguard of the proletariat, its organized detachment, the highest form of political organization, called upon to help the working class assert itself, to realize and fulfil its world historic mission. Lenin stressed that there could be no revolutionary movement without a revolutionary theory, that only a party equipped with an advanced theory could perform a vanguard role.

Lenin and the Bolsheviks repudiated all attempts to turn the Party into a discussion club, a conglomeration of factions and groupings. Lenin and the Bolsheviks saw the decisive condition for the strength of the Party in monolithic cohesion of its ranks, in the inadmissibility of activities aimed at undermining its unity and weakening its iron discipline.

The Bolshevik Party emerged, grew and developed as a party of true proletarian internationalists. It is profoundly internationalist in its ideology, structure and the nature of its activity. Uniting in its ranks

the proletariat of a multinational country, the Bolshevik Party was, from the moment of its foundation, an inalienable component of a single whole, a militant contingent of the international Communist movement.

The most complicated tasks which the Bolsheviks, led by Lenin, had to carry out were to elaborate and perfect the means and methods of the working-class struggle, to arm the Party with revolutionary strategy and tactics. Lenin worked persistently to organize a militant proletarian party. He resolutely exposed the opportunist practices of the parties of the 2nd International, which were gradually turning into parties of social reform and becoming part of the political system of bourgeois society, limiting their activity to legal, mostly parliamentary, methods. The Bolsheviks set an example of skilful combination of legal and illegal, parliamentary and non-parliamentary, peaceful and non-peaceful methods of struggle, and used them flexibly, depending on the situation. The Bolsheviks did not renounce struggle for reforms but they always subordinated this struggle, just as their entire activity, to the preparation of the revolution.

Lenin considered struggle on two fronts—against the Right and “Left” varieties of opportunism and revisionism — an indispensable condition for the successful activity of a Marxist Party, for the development and success of the working-class movement.

Throughout his revolutionary activity Lenin was a relentless fighter against trends that used the flag of Marxism as a cover for their hostility to scientific socialism. He subjected the bourgeois-liberal nature of the reformism of the “legal Marxists” and “economists” to thorough criticism. Upholding and defending the revolutionary principles of Marxism, the Party and Lenin waged an uncompromising struggle against Menshevism, the most dangerous opportunist trend inside the Russian working-class movement, and sharply criticized the opportunism of the Right-wing socialist leaders in the international arena. At the same

time, Lenin resolutely rejected the petty-bourgeois "ultra-revolutionariness" which ignored the real conditions of class struggle, impelled the proletariat towards political gambles, and doomed the working-class movement to defeat.

The establishment of the Bolshevik Party marked the beginning of a new stage in the Russian and international working-class movement. For the first time, the proletariat received an organization capable of successfully guiding its struggle for social emancipation in the new historical conditions.

3 The period when capitalism entered its imperialist stage and the proletarian movement acquired a mass scale called for further development of Marxist theory, for the working out of revolutionary strategy and tactics which would accord with the new historical conditions.

Comparing the Russian economic setup with the trends of world capitalism, Lenin, in his fundamental work "The Development of Capitalism in Russia," showed the increasing aggravation of socio-economic antagonisms in town and country, thoroughly analyzed the changes in the class structure of society and showed who were the real allies of the proletariat in bourgeois-democratic and socialist revolutions. He convincingly demonstrated that the peasantry was destined to play a role of utmost importance in the revolutionary struggle, together with the chief motive force of the revolution—the working class.

Lenin showed that by virtue of its social position and its struggle to abolish the landlord ownership of the land, the toiling peasantry was objectively interested not only in the bourgeois-democratic revolution but in the overthrow of the power of capital as well, for only socialism could bring a radical solution of the agrarian problem. Lenin studied the main trends of world agrarian capitalist evolution and the process of the class stratification in the countryside; he determined the attitude of the working class to various sections of the peasantry at different stages of the

revolution and created an integral theory and programme on the agrarian question.

In the book "Two Tactics of Social-Democracy in the Democratic Revolution" and in his other works Lenin, on the basis of analysis of the experience of the Russian revolution of 1905 and the European working-class movement, proved that from now on the hegemony in the struggle for emancipation was passing to the proletariat and that the hegemony of the proletariat in the bourgeois-democratic revolution, in alliance with all the peasantry, would inevitably grow over into the hegemony of the proletariat in the socialist revolution in alliance with the rural poor and all the exploited masses of town and country. "From the democratic revolution we shall at once ... begin to pass to the Socialist Revolution. We stand for uninterrupted revolution," Lenin wrote. "We shall not stop half-way." (Vol. 9, p. 237)

This conclusion blasted the traditional Social-Democratic dogma according to which a long period of capitalism was to follow the bourgeois revolution. Lenin showed that in the epoch of imperialism the solution of democratic tasks and the solution of socialist tasks converged, and that in these conditions the policy of alliance of the proletariat with the middle sections of the population in the struggle for democracy and socialism acquired particular importance. The development of revolutionary events in Russia and in other countries corroborated Lenin's prediction.

A historic contribution of Lenin's was the creation of a scientific theory of imperialism, his study of its nature, contradictions and laws. Lenin's analysis of imperialism in "Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism" and in other works is a direct continuation and further development of the ideas of Marx's "Capital." Lenin proved that the monopoly stage of capitalism is its final stage, the eve of the socialist revolution. The comprehensive analysis of the new stage in world history made it possible for Lenin to

determine the tremendous possibilities of the revolutionary movement in the epoch of imperialism

Having disclosed the law of the uneven economic and political development of capitalism at its imperialist stage, Lenin arrived at the conclusion that different countries would come to socialism at different times and that the imperialist front may be breached not necessarily in the country with the highest level of development. That conclusion was a new word in the science of Marxism. It radically changed the old conception of the conditions for the victory of the new system and opened a clear prospect of struggle to the Russian and international proletariat. Already then, Lenin foresaw the course of the main processes of social development as a result of the victory of socialism in one or several countries, foresaw the inevitability of struggle between the two systems in the world arena.

Lenin thoroughly elaborated the nationalities problem in the light of the new historical conditions. He advanced and substantiated the idea of joining the proletarian class struggle with the struggle for the abolition of national oppression, joining the struggle for socialism with the anti-imperialist liberation struggle of the oppressed peoples.

The necessity of comprehending the new historical processes and advancing the Marxist method, as well as the tasks of ideological struggle, called for an exhaustive analysis by the Bolshevik Party and its leader of the current philosophical problems. Lenin's works "Materialism and Empirio-Criticism," "Philosophical Notebooks" and others developed and enriched the ideas contained in the works of Marx and Engels on dialectical and historical materialism. Lenin "sorted out" philosophically new scientific problems that had amassed after Marx and Engels, defended and developed the basic principles of the world outlook and method of Marxism, and criticized in great detail idealistic and metaphysical concepts.

Lenin's further elaboration of materialistic dialectics, his study of the dialectical materialist theory of knowledge and his idea of the union of natural science with philosophy are of everlasting importance. Lenin was the first thinker of our century who saw in the achievements of natural science of his time the beginning of a tremendous scientific revolution, who was able to disclose and generalize philosophically the revolutionary meaning of the fundamental discoveries made by the great explorers of nature. He gave a brilliant philosophical interpretation of new scientific data in the period of the drastic "breaking of principles" in the leading fields of natural science. His idea of the inexhaustibility of matter has become the general principle of natural science.

Lenin comprehensively studied the dialectics of social development, the interaction of economics and politics, the interconnection of social being and social consciousness, and many other questions. The elaboration of the problems of social development by Lenin was closely connected with the requirements of revolutionary practice and ideological struggle. Lenin's criticism of subjectivism in philosophy and sociology dealt a crucial blow at the ideological sources of political voluntarism and adventurism. His criticism of the concepts of fatalism and spontaneity as the theoretical basis of the tactics of Right-wing opportunism were of fundamental importance.

Pointing out the determinative significance of the objective conditions and trends of social development, Lenin always combined depth of scientific analysis of historical circumstances with the most resolute recognition of the significance of the revolutionary energy, initiative, class-consciousness and organization of the masses, classes and parties, as well as the significance of the activity of individuals. His dialectical mind revealed new possibilities for expediting the revolutionary process in the operation of the subjective factor in conditions when general prerequisites for replacing capitalism by socialism are already ripe.

Lenin teaches us that in such a situation the working people's readiness and ability to take revolutionary action, their class-consciousness, organization and experience in struggle become decisive for the success of the revolution

4 The revolutionary-transformative role of the Marxist-Leninist theory and its unity with revolutionary practice in the activity of the Bolshevik Party headed by Lenin were strikingly manifested in the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution

The Revolution of February 1917 overthrew the tsarist autocracy and resulted in the establishment of the power of the bourgeoisie. The working class was now faced with the task of going over to a new stage of the struggle—the winning of political power, the struggle for socialism. Lenin equipped the Party and the working class with a concrete plan for the transition to a socialist revolution. In the April Theses, in the documents prepared for the April Conference and the 6th Party Congress, in his articles and statements Lenin advanced strategical and tactical slogans of tremendous mobilizing power. "The specific feature of the present situation in Russia," he pointed out, "is that the country is passing from the first stage of the revolution—which, owing to the insufficient class-consciousness and organization of the proletariat, placed power in the hands of the bourgeoisie—to its second stage, which must place power in the hands of the proletariat and the poorest sections of the peasants" (Vol. 24, p. 22).

The Bolsheviks advanced towards the socialist revolution with a clear-cut programme of preventing the national disaster to the brink of which the country had been brought by the criminal policy of tsarism and the exploiting classes. The Bolsheviks came out as a party not only of the destroyers of the old but also of the builders of a new society. "The State and Revolution," "The Impending Catastrophe and How To Combat It," "Can the Bolsheviks Retain State

"Power?" and other Lenin's works of that period became for the Party an effective programme of socio-political and economic reconstruction.

Clarity of programme and consistency in its implementation enabled the Bolsheviks to free a considerable part of the Mensheviks' and Socialist Revolutionaries' followers from the influence of these conciliating parties, to win the majority of the working people to their own side and to build up a political army of the socialist revolution. The struggle of the working class for socialism, the nation-wide movement for peace, the peasants' struggle for land and the national-liberation struggle of the oppressed peoples of Russia merged into a single stream.

In the period between February and October 1917, the Bolshevik Party with Lenin at the head set an example in the use of various forms and methods of class struggle, their able combination and change and the choice of the most effective of them at each given moment. By his comprehensive elaboration of the teaching on the revolutionary situation and armed uprising Lenin made an outstanding contribution to Marxist theory.

. The Party led the masses to the storming of capitalism precisely when the necessary objective and subjective conditions had arisen, when the nation-wide crisis had matured and when the mind, the will and the emotions of tens of millions of people had already been prepared for the storm by the entire course of the struggle. Guided by Lenin, the Bolshevik Party put into practice the Marxist precept that uprising must be regarded as an art.

. The Great October Socialist Revolution gave the world an example of how to solve fundamental social problems: the overthrow of the power of the exploiters and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the turning of the private property of the bourgeoisie and landlords into public socialist property, the just solution of the agrarian problem in the peasants' favour, the liberation of the dependent

peoples from colonial and national oppression, and the creation of the political and economic prerequisites for the building of socialism

The Great October Socialist Revolution was the first victorious act of the world socialist revolution. It changed radically the political and socio-economic aspect of one of the biggest powers, elevated the international liberation movement to a higher plane, "charted the road to socialism for the whole world," as Lenin wrote, "and has shown the bourgeoisie that their triumph is coming to an end" (Vol. 28, p. 44). A new chapter began in world history.

II SOCIALISM—EMBODIMENT OF THE IDEAS OF LENINISM

5 After the victory of the October Revolution the theoretical and practical problems of socialist construction and the perspectives of the world revolution took the central place in Leninism. The historic service rendered by Lenin, by the Bolshevik Party, is that they headed the creation of the world's first socialist society. The successful building of socialism in the USSR and the entry of other countries onto the road of socialism are the tangible embodiment of the teachings of Marx, Engels and Lenin.

Socialist change in Russia marked the beginning of revolutionary change in the social contours of our planet, and laid a reliable state foundation for the international liberation movement. The Soviet example had a tremendous revolutionizing impact on the rest of the world. From now on, Lenin said, the struggle between the two camps—socialist and capitalist—forms the axis of world politics, of all relations among peoples.

A formidable problem facing the Soviet Republic at the beginning was that of bridging the gulf between the grandeur of the tasks confronting it and material and cultural poverty of the country. An advanced

political system had been established and public ownership of the basic means of production introduced. At the same time, small-scale commodity farming prevailed, and the technical and economic backwardness, aggravated by the devastating consequences of the First World War, the Civil War and foreign intervention, made itself felt. In these conditions, the question of the possibilities and ways of socialist development in our country came sharply to the fore.

Lenin believed that the country had all that was needed for building a socialist society. He had deep faith in the tremendous organizing force of the new, workers' and peasants' power, in the inexhaustible creative potential of the revolutionary masses. Lenin's approach to the problems of socialist construction was scientifically substantiated and expounded in the works "The Immediate Tasks of the Soviet Government," "The 'Left-wing' Childishness and the Petty-Bourgeois Mentality," "The Great Initiative," "Economics and Politics in the Era of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat," "On Food Tax," "On Co-operation," "On Our Revolution," "How We Should Reorganize the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection," "Better Fewer, but Better," and others.

The "Left Communists" and Trotskyites took different positions, hostile to Lenin's. The "Left Communists" advanced the adventurist demand for the immediate introduction of the principles of communism, without preparing the necessary economic basis. As for the Trotskyites, they declared that it was hopeless to think that revolutionary Russia could hold out in face of conservative Europe, maintaining that socialism could triumph in the USSR only after a socialist revolution in the Western countries. The Party rejected these defeatist views, and adopted Lenin's plan for building the new society.

Lenin taught that the essence of socialism lies in the transfer of the means of production into the hands of the people, in the replacement of the capitalist system of economy by production under a general

plan in the interests of all members of society. Such a transition is unrealizable without the democratic organization of all forces of the working people, without their active participation in the affairs of state. Socialism presupposes work without capitalists, with the strictest control by the state and public organizations over the measure of labour and consumption.

Lenin ridiculed those who expected an ideal society free of contradictions and difficulties to spring up ready-made overnight. Socialism is a qualitatively new system, fundamentally differing from exploiter societies. At the same time, it is the initial phase of the communist formation, coming immediately after capitalism, and, therefore, still bearing its "birthmarks." The development of socialism is a complex process of transition from lower forms of its social organization to higher, depending on "what might be called the stages of the economic maturity of communism" (Vol. 25, p. 471).

When it began to tackle the constructive tasks of the revolution, the Russian working class launched out on an unexplored path beset by incredible difficulties and obstacles. The Communist Party—the inspirer and organizer of creative endeavour on an unprecedented scale—had at every step to seek solutions to problems never resolved before.

The new society was being built in a country surrounded by a hostile capitalist encirclement. Lenin warned that this encirclement, exerting military, political, economic and ideological pressure, would not cease its attempts to restore capitalism, or, at any rate, retard the growth of the publicly-owned economy, the emergence of a new way of life, and the development of socialist consciousness.

Historical experience shows that the building of socialism always encounters stubborn resistance on the part of the overthrown exploiter classes, the forces and traditions of the old world. The proletarian state is compelled to suppress the subversive activities of

the bourgeoisie, of the enemies of socialism. It has to overcome the political wavering of the petty-bourgeois strata of town and countryside, and of a part of the old intelligentsia. These tendencies were represented in the ideological and political sphere not only by open advocates of restoration, but also by all kinds of Right and "Left" revisionist elements.

The attacks of the Trotskyite opposition against the Party, against Lenin's ideological heritage, became particularly vicious after Lenin's death. They were loudly acclaimed and supported by the avowed enemies of Soviet power, and coincided in time with the attacks of the most aggressive forces of the capitalist encirclement. In the end, the Trotskyites descended to the road of counter-revolution and anti-Sovietism.

The entire Party, headed by its Central Committee, rose up in defence of Leninism. It ideologically exposed and organizationally routed Trotskyism. The same fate was shared by the Right-wing opportunists, who sought to revise the general line of the Party in the spirit of bourgeois ideology, and who opposed a high rate of industrialization, collectivization of agriculture, and the elimination of the kulaks as a class.

Carrying out Lenin's behests, the Communist Party and the Soviet people traversed a difficult but glorious path. Socialism, the inevitability of whose victory was demonstrated by the founders of scientific communism, socialism, the building of which was launched under Lenin's guidance, became the reality in the Soviet Union.

A new historic change in the system of world economic and political forces in favour of socialism was the rise of the socialist world system, it was the practical affirmation of Leninism on an international scale. The heroic efforts of the Soviet people, of the peoples of the socialist community, have in the main blazed the trail to the new social system for all the peoples of the world.

6 The dictatorship of the proletariat is the main instrument in the building of socialism It enables the working class, all working people, to counter the power of capital, the many connections of the bourgeoisie, its experience in administration, its private-property ideology and psychology with the power of proletarian conviction, class-consciousness, organization and discipline

Generalizing the experience of the Paris Commune and the three Russian revolutions, Lenin developed and concretized the teachings of Marx and Engels on the dictatorship of the proletariat. He revealed the historic importance of the Republic of the Soviets—a state of a new type, immeasurably more democratic than any bourgeois-parliamentary republic. "If the creative enthusiasm of the revolutionary classes had not given rise to the Soviets, the proletarian revolution in Russia would have been a hopeless cause," Lenin said (Vol. 2b, p. 104).

The Soviet state showed itself in practice to be a powerful instrument in the development of socialist planned production, in raising the cultural standards of society, and in the communist education of the working people, an instrument for protecting the interests of society and the individual, the new order of things, an instrument safeguarding the socialist gains and supporting the international revolutionary movement for emancipation.

The dictatorship of the proletariat means the replacement of democracy for exploiters by socialist democracy for the working people, the beginning of the epoch of genuine government by the people. Lenin showed that the achievement of real freedom hinges primarily on the emancipation of labour from the yoke of capital, the deliverance of the working people from exploitation and spiritual oppression. He always approached political freedoms—freedom of speech, press, assembly, etc.—from class positions as prerequisites of the socialist unity of the working people and the spread of socialist ideology, ruling out "free-

dom" for anti-socialist propaganda, "freedom" for the organization of counter-revolutionary forces

Organization and administration in socialist society rest on the Leninist principle of democratic centralism, which presupposes the organic blending of integral, centralized, planned management of the economy and social and cultural development with local initiative, with a variety of ways, methods and means of moving ahead to the common goal. Lenin regarded as an essential condition for the development of socialist initiative of the masses, for proper leadership of the new society, the exclusion of "regionalism" and parochialism, which often border on anarchism, on the one hand, and "bureaucratic centralism," "confusing democratic centralism with bureaucracy and routinism" (Vol. 27, p. 208), on the other.

The gradual expansion of the social base of the socialist state stems logically from the very nature of the new system. When socialism has been built and the entire people stands firmly on socialist positions, the working class wages its class struggle against international imperialism and against bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideology in close unity with the co-operative peasantry and the working intelligentsia. The state of the dictatorship of the proletariat becomes the political organization of the entire people with the leading role played by the working class, headed by its vanguard—the Communist Party.

The socialist state of the entire people continues the cause of the proletarian dictatorship, serves as the organizational base in the building of communism. Drawing on the support of all the working people, on their conscious organization, the state of the entire people at the same time does not abstain from necessary measures of compulsion in relation to persons violating the laws of socialist society, its standards and principles.

At all stages of its development, protecting the gains of socialism against encroachments by the

forces of counter-revolution and world imperialism has been and remains the vital concern of the socialist state. Any revolution, in Lenin's words, is worth something only when it is able to defend itself. He stressed "Those who treat frivolously the defence of the country in which the proletariat has already achieved victory are the ones who destroy the connection with international socialism" (Vol 27, p 332). Built by the Party and Lenin, the Workers' and Peasants' Red Army, the armed forces of the triumphant people, upheld the gains of the revolution in the Civil War.

In the Great Patriotic War, our people, under the leadership of the Communist Party, displaying mass heroism, performed an immortal exploit in the name of socialism. This war was at once a terrible ordeal and a school of courage. It ended in a great victory because socialism ensured the invincible unity of the entire Soviet society, the might and unprecedented mobility of its economy, a high degree of development of military science, because it reared splendid soldiers and army leaders. The rout of the shock forces of world imperialism—German fascism and Japanese militarism—the fulfilment by the Soviet Army of its liberation mission, contributed decisively to the success of the people's democratic revolutions in a number of countries of Europe and Asia.

Developing their national economy and building up the defence capacity of their country, the Soviet people regard it as their internationalist duty to do everything possible for the economic, military and political strengthening of the world socialist community as a whole and of each of its members. To the imperialist policy of exporting counter-revolution our community opposes its own invincible might and resolve to defend the revolutionary gains of the peoples.

7. Leninism teaches that socialism and communism can be successfully built only under the leadership of a Marxist-Leninist Party armed with advanced theory, steeled in battle, enjoying the trust

of the working people, able to express the sentiments of the masses and to influence them

The strength of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union lies in fidelity to the principles of Marxism-Leninism and revolutionary traditions, in solid unity, ideological steadfastness, and lofty moral and political qualities of the Communists. It imposes great responsibility on every Communist for the state of affairs in his own organization and in the Party as a whole. The Communists marched in the front ranks of the fighters in the years of the Civil War and the Great Patriotic War, and in the building of socialism. And they are invariably the pioneers in all sectors of communist construction.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union draws on the theory of Marxism-Leninism and accumulated experience of struggle in shaping policy and exercising guidance of the masses, of the economic, social, political and spiritual life of society, in uniting, co-ordinating and directing the activities of all links of the administrative system. The Party works both directly and through the Soviets, state bodies and public organizations, encouraging and developing their creative initiative.

A vital role in the development of our society is played by the Soviet trade unions—the biggest of the mass organizations of the working people, a school of communism for tens of millions of workers and employees. Under the leadership of the Party, the Soviet trade unions actively work further to strengthen our economy and defence capability, to raise the people's living standards, to increase productivity of labour, to promote socialist emulation and the movement for a communist attitude to work and for conscious discipline in production, to improve working and living conditions and recreation facilities for the working people.

The Leninist Young Communist League of the Soviet Union is a militant reserve and assistant of the Party. Lenin's historic speech, "The Tasks of the

Youth Leagues," serves as a programme of its activities. Generations of young Communists, builders of socialism, received their political schooling in the ranks of the Komsomol.

The Communist Party is the vanguard of the entire Soviet people, the political leader of all organizations of the working people. Awareness of its historical responsibility and its duty to the people guards the Party against complacency. Lenin's behest "that under no circumstances will we allow our Party contract swelled head" (Vol. 30, p. 528) is sacred to all Communists. Criticism and self-criticism are unquestionably necessary for any living and viable Party, Lenin pointed out. This is a law, an essential condition for the development of the Party, for the exercise of its leading role in society.

Analysing the character of social processes, generalising the experience of the masses and charting the way forward, the Party opens up new possibilities, works out measures for overcoming difficulties and contradictions. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union strongly condemned the personality cult, which led to abuses of power and violations of socialist democracy and revolutionary legality. It also condemned subjectivism, which ignores the laws of social development and the opinion of collective bodies, substituting voluntarist decisions for scientific guidance. Strict observance of the Leninist norms of Party and state life, development of criticism and self-criticism, consistent observance of the principle of collective leadership and broad ties with the masses are guarantees against these negative phenomena. The Party rejects all and any attempts to direct criticism of the personality cult and subjectivism against the interests of the people and socialism, attempts aimed at smearing the history of socialist construction, discrediting revolutionary gains and revising the principles of Marxism-Leninism.

In recent years the CPSU has done much to restore and develop the Leninist norms of Party life, Leninist

principles of guidance in all spheres of Party, state ideological and economic activity

The guiding and organizing activities of the Marxist-Leninist Party are the main condition for the working class to exert the decisive influence on the development of the new society Lenin warned, and experience shows, that any attempt to weaken the leading role of the Party is fraught with the danger of anti-socialist anarchy, holds the threat of the restoration of the capitalist order

The Party's fidelity to the principles of Marxism-Leninism to the interests of the working class, of all the working people, and the strengthening of the unity of the Party and the people are an earnest of the successful fulfilment of Lenin's behests of further victories for the cause of the revolution, the cause of communism

8 Lenin taught that the main task of the proletariat and all the working people after the winning of power "is the positive or constructive work of setting up an extremely intricate and delicate system of new organizational relationships extending to the planned production and distribution of the goods required for the existence of tens of millions of people" (Vol. 27, p. 241)

Developing Marx's proposition about social ownership as the economic basis of socialism, Lenin defined the main ways and forms of its development. By its character, large-scale machine industry demands socialization on a state scale. Therefore, the concept of so-called "co-operative socialism," envisaging the transfer of enterprises and institutions to the ownership of individual working collectives, has nothing in common with scientific socialism. Lenin wrote that the task of socialism is to make all means of production the property of the entire people, not to hand ships over to shipwrights, and banks, to bank clerks

Lenin teaches that only highly-developed industrial production in all branches of the national economy

based on the latest achievements in science and technology can be the material basis of socialism. As the problem of the socialization of the main means of production is solved, he wrote, "there necessarily comes to the forefront the fundamental task of creating a social system superior to capitalism, namely, raising the productivity of labour, and in this connection (and for this purpose) securing better organization of labour" (Vol. 27, p. 257).

The main guidelines for creating new productive forces on the basis of electric power, comprehensive utilization of natural resources, introduction of advanced techniques, technology and organization of production were laid down in the State Plan for the Electrification of Russia (GOELRO), drawn up under Lenin's guidance. In conformity with Lenin's teaching, the working people of the land of Soviets, under the leadership of the Party, carried out the industrialization of the country. Accomplished in a historically short space of time, in the glorious years of the initial five-year plans, it put the USSR among the world's most highly developed industrial powers.

Lenin scientifically demonstrated the necessity of the transition to socialist lines of the millions of small commodity producers, and the ways to effect it. He held that for their production units, as distinct from large-scale production, the co-operative forms of socialist socialization were the most expedient. As a result of the collectivization of the individual peasant farms and the broad development of state farms, the small commodity and capitalist forms in the countryside gave way to the socialist. Socialist property in its two forms—the property of the whole people, and co-operative and collective-farm property—became the basis of economic relations also in agriculture. Thanks to the qualitative renewal of its technical base, the Soviet Union now has a large-scale highly mechanized agriculture ensuring the growth of food and raw material resources.

Lenin scientifically resolved the fundamental problems of planning and management of the socialist economy. The foundations for the planned management of the economy at all levels were laid under his direct leadership. In Lenin's view management of planned economy presupposes a scientific approach, the ability to determine correctly the perspectives and the priorities, orientation on the latest achievements of science and technology, on advanced experience, flexibility and ability to respond quickly and surely to changing conditions.

Socialism introduces a new system of distribution of material benefits. Every worker and working collective receives material remuneration depending on the results of their work, on their actual contribution to the total social labour. Socialism makes, for the first time in history, all people equal in relation to the means of production, does away with exploitation, but, as Lenin pointed out, it cannot yet ensure full equality as regards consumption and material well-being.

Lenin viewed distribution under socialism as a powerful lever making for the growth of production, the improvement of the quality of labour, higher productivity, and development of the workingman's initiative. At the same time he asserted that without a conscious, socialist attitude to labour, without the masses understanding their long-range general interests, socialism is impossible. Lenin saw in the first shoots of the new attitude towards labour—the communist subbotniks—"the beginning of a revolution that is more difficult, more tangible, more radical and more decisive than the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, for it is a victory over our own conservatism, indiscipline, petty-bourgeois egoism, a victory over the habits left as a heritage to the worker and peasant by accursed capitalism" (Vol. 29, p. 411).

Pointing out that the success of our plans depends first of all on people, Lenin himself strove and taught others "to test and discover real organizers, people

with sober and practical minds, people who combine loyalty to socialism with ability without fuss (and in spite of muddle and fuss) to get a large number of people working together steadily and concertedly within the framework of Soviet organization" (Vol 27, p 263)

The effectiveness of Lenin's principles of the socialist organization of the economy was for the first time strikingly demonstrated by the example of the Soviet Union. Our country advanced from fifth place to second in the world for total industrial output already in the prewar period. The average annual increase in industrial production during the years of peaceful labour amounted to 14 per cent, and for the whole Soviet period to 9.9 per cent, as against 2.4 for the same period in the USA, Britain, France and West Germany. The tremendous acceleration Lenin foresaw in the development of society's productive forces as a result of the abolition of capitalism has been fully confirmed.

9 The task of socialism, Lenin pointed out, consists in making all the achievements of culture serve the interests of the working people. With political power passing into the hands of the working class, the achievements of science, technology, and art become the property of all the people, and the possibility of turning human talent into an object or means of exploitation is excluded forever.

Lenin's programme for the cultural revolution was an important contribution to revolutionary theory and practice. Its main content advancing public education—the creation of all the conditions for the broadest masses of the working people to share in political life, knowledge, esthetic values, dissemination of scientific socialist ideology and the organization, on the basis of its principles, of the people's entire spiritual life, overcoming petty-bourgeois views and ethics.

Now more than a third of the population in the USSR has a higher or secondary education, and tran-

sition to universal secondary education is under way. More than 820,000 scientific workers are employed in all branches of the national economy and culture. The continuously rising professional skill of workers, peasants and office employees represents tremendous social wealth.

The Party has always viewed the creative arts in socialist society as an inseparable part of the common cause of the Party and the proletariat. Lenin's principles of partisanship of literature and art and their kinship with the people were the basis on which the finest creative artists united on the ideological and political platform of Soviet power. Lenin's approach to intellectual activity combines a considerate attitude towards talent and creative quest with adherence to principled ideological and political positions, with clear-cut moral and esthetic commitment. Lenin was uncompromising towards what he called "literary camouflage" of anti-socialist ideas, the smuggling of reactionary views through the medium of the fashionable phrase, attempts to conceal paucity of content by formalistic flummery, and criticized vulgarization and subjectivism in the evaluation of works of art.

Socialist culture is a step of world historic importance in the spiritual development of mankind.

10 Lenin characterized socialism as a period of the gradual destruction of classes and the establishment of social equality. The socialist transformation of social relations is a dual process of destruction, of breaking down the system of exploitation and the private-property mode of life, and replacing them with a consciously organized united nationwide collective of working people of town and country.

Of decisive importance in this transformation is the alliance of the working class and all the working people founded on the identity of their basic interests and ensuring the unity of the people on the common basis of building socialism, with the working class playing the leading role.

In a socialist society consistently overcoming social distinctions, the working class which has radically changed during the years of Soviet power and now makes up more than half of the working people, continues to be the leading social force. The working class produces the biggest share of the social product, is in the forefront of technical progress, and is occupied in the decisive spheres of social production. The Soviet worker combines the traits of a class-conscious industrial worker drawn into intellectual activity and the traits of an active fighter for the new life, a champion of lofty standards in human relationships.

The working peasantry has become transformed from a class of small property-owners into a class of collective farmers, into a new, socialist social force. The collective farm-cooperative system, the Soviet way of life, constant political education under the influence of the working class and the Communist Party have helped to imbue the peasant masses with habits of collective labour and a collectivist psychology, and to draw them into active employment of modern industrial methods of farming.

In the very first years of socialist construction, alongside enlisting the services of and re-educating old specialists, Lenin called for the creation of a new worker-peasant intelligentsia. The socialist intelligentsia, which has grown up in Soviet conditions, is an organic constituent part of our society. Its weight and social role in the conditions of accelerated scientific and technological progress is steadily increasing. Lenin's prevision is coming true: "Only collaboration between scientists and workers can put an end to oppressive poverty, disease and dirt. No forces of darkness can withstand an alliance of the scientists, the proletariat and the technologists" (Vol. 30, p. 402).

Lenin regarded the solution of the national question as an important prerequisite for ensuring social equality and the unity of the working people. Self-determination and equality of nations, the unity of

the workers and all other working people of the different nationalities in the struggle for democracy and socialism, close political, military and economic alliance of the peoples that have taken the socialist road, ensuring the actual equality of nations through the free development of their economy and culture by joint effort—such are the principles of the national programme of Leninism

The interests of the working class make it incumbent on Communists to wage a struggle both against under-estimation of national features and against their exaggeration. In its struggle against nationalistic deviations and great-power chauvinism, the CPSU has been always guided by the fact that neither nationalism in any form whatsoever nor national nihilism are compatible with socialism.

Under the leadership of Lenin a multinational socialist state, the USSR, was set up—a voluntary union of equal and sovereign republics based on the principles of proletarian internationalism, on the unity of the economic and political organization of society, on ideological and cultural community. The unity of more than a hundred socialist nations and nationalities of our country, their rapid economic and cultural advance, the establishment of a common proletarian ideology—such are the achievements of socialism in solving the age-old national problem with which no other system can cope. The monolithic unity of the peoples of the USSR is a necessary condition for the successful implementation of the tasks of communist construction.

The social, ideological and political unity of all sections of the working people, of all citizens irrespective of background, occupation, nationality, sex or education is ensured in the USSR. The Soviet people are in principle a new, international community, the socialist union of all the working people of the USSR—workers of industry, agriculture and culture, manual and mental labour—forming the social base of the multinational state of the whole people.

The historic changes in the social structure of our society were accompanied by fundamental changes in the mode of life of all Soviet people, the intense development of its socialist, Soviet traits and a considerable rise in the people's living standards. Despite the need to divert considerable funds for defence, despite the tremendous losses caused to our country by the imperialist aggressors, and the colossal expenditures which the subsequent rehabilitation of the national economy required, the Soviet state has pursued undeviatingly the Leninist general line of improving popular well-being and advancing culture.

unemployment has been abolished,

instead of the 10-12-hour working day, as was the case at most industrial enterprises of pre-revolutionary Russia, a 7-hour working day has been established and for some categories of workers, 6 and less hours of work a day with a six-day working week, or a five-day working week with the same number of working hours but with two days off,

working conditions have been generally improved the USSR is among the countries with the lowest industrial accident rate,

the real income of workers in industry and construction, taking into account the liquidation of unemployment and the reduction in working hours, has increased on the average per worker more than sevenfold as against 1913, the real income of the peasant increased during this period by almost 11 times,

the total area of the urban housing fund increased eightfold as against 1913, living conditions and amenities have improved considerably,

education is universal and financed by the state. Society assumes a considerable share of the cost of bringing up the rising generation. At the present time a total of about 9 million children are taken care of in permanent kindergartens and creches. The number of pupils in general educational schools has increased in the years of Soviet power from 9.7 million to 49 million,

a single pension system has been established. Pensions are paid out of state and collective farms funds, the retirement age is lower in the USSR than in most countries,

free medical care and mother and child services have been established. In the past half century average longevity has more than doubled

Socialism has already brought the working man tremendous benefits. The further development of this, the most advanced and truly the people's social system will bring society closer to the full flowering of the human personality, to the realization of the previsions of the founders of scientific communism

11 Life has proved the correctness of Lenin's prediction that more and more countries would break away from the world capitalist system as a result of socialist revolutions, that the dictatorship of the proletariat would be transformed from a national into an international force. The universal significance and validity of Lenin's teaching on socialist construction have been fully confirmed by the experience of many countries of three continents. International co-operation within the framework of the socialist world system testifies to the viability of the Leninist principles of international relations of a new type. Political and economic communion of the socialist countries multiplies the strength and might of each, makes it possible to make fuller use of the advantages of the socialist organization of social life

The vital force of the new system is manifested in its ability to assert itself in the most varied conditions and to find different forms for carrying out similar social and cultural tasks. Just as Lenin foresaw, each nation contributes "something of its own to some form of democracy, to some variety of the dictatorship of the proletariat, to the varying rate of socialist transformations in the different aspects of social life" (Vol. 23, pp. 69-70)

Lenin expressed his deep conviction that socialism would ensure the social and economic unity of peoples

both on the national and the international plane Lenin saw the material basis of such unity in the tendency towards "the creation of a single world economy, regulated by the proletariat of all nations, as an integral whole and according to a common plan. This tendency has already revealed itself quite clearly under capitalism and is bound to be further developed and consummated under socialism" (Vol. 31, p. 147)

The inter-state relations of the socialist countries are characterized by common basic interests. The fraternal countries are united by Marxist-Leninist ideology, by the common aims of building socialism and communism. They have common tasks in the struggle against capitalism and its imperialist policy.

Life itself demands that the fraternal countries come still closer to one another economically and politically. The co-ordination of their national economic plans and the long-range programme for the further development of socialist integration adopted at the 23rd Special Session of the Council of Mutual Economic Assistance are designed to promote the successful solution of this task. By elaborating such major measures the fraternal parties are making a creative contribution to the development of Lenin's idea of building an "international co-operative of working people."

The establishment of the socialist world system is a complicated and many-sided process involving the overcoming of difficulties of an objective and subjective order. Fraternal relations and co-operation are being developed between countries with far from the same economic levels, historical and cultural traditions and ties, and social structures.

Experience shows that wherever petty-bourgeois elements succeed in exerting their influence, they try to prevent the normal course of socialist transformations, to set the socialist countries against each other, to revive opportunist, revisionist and nationalistic views which play into the hands of imperialism. Such a danger increases wherever a retreat from the principles of Marxism-Leninism is allowed.

"Left" revisionism attacks the theory and practice of scientific communism, and tries to replace it with a reactionary utopian and military dullground "socialism". Its petty-bourgeois nationalistic substance is exposed by the preaching of the messianic role of certain countries, mass-scale brain-washing in the spirit of hegemonism, chauvinism and bellicose anti-Sovietism.

On the other hand, the Right-wing revisionists preach the concept of so-called "liberalized" socialism which denies the leading role of the Marxist-Leninist parties, substitutes for socialist democracy political liberalism of a bourgeois type, negates centralized planning and management of the national economy, and is designed to unleash the blind forces of the market and cutthroat competition.

The CPSU highly values the struggle waged by the Communists of fraternal countries against any attempts to erode the positions of the new system, against the opportunist approach to the problems of building socialism and mutual relations in the socialist world system, for overcoming the differences between the parties on the principled basis of Marxism-Leninism. A reliable groundwork for international relations of the new type is the correct policy of the Communist and Workers' parties, undeviating implementation of Lenin's teaching on the building of the new society, and observance of the principles of socialist internationalism.

- The building and development of socialism within the framework of separate countries and on an international scale is the result of the epoch-making labours of millions of working people who have taken their destiny into their own hands. And, as Lenin predicted, the scale on which the working people of our planet are joining in the making of history is growing. This is an expression of the natural process of transition from the pre-history of human society to its true, consciously wrought history.

III LENINISM IS THE BANNER OF THE PEOPLES' STRUGGLE AGAINST IMPERIALISM, FOR THE REVOLUTIONARY RENEWAL OF THE WORLD

12 The experience of the class battles of the 20th century has shown that only when guided by Lenin's teaching can we understand the essence and character of the revolutionary changes taking place in the world, unerringly assess the role of the forces participating in them, and correctly envisage the future development of the world socialist revolution

The need to replace capitalist relations of production by socialist relations is now more urgent than ever before. However, Lenin stressed to overthrow the last exploiter system on a world scale and establish a new social system is a complicated, long-drawn-out and multi-form process. The material precondition for transition to socialism first matured in the industrial capitalist countries. But in the majority of them the imperialist bourgeoisie has managed to stay in power. Under contemporary conditions this is the chief obstacle in the path of social progress.

In the face of socialism's successes the imperialist bourgeoisie is making every effort to defend its interests and preserve its main positions. It is manoeuvring in all spheres of public life, is mobilizing all its material resources in order to preserve its domination, is more and more closely uniting the strength of the monopolies with the strength of the state, and is displaying political resourcefulness in its attempts to repulse the onslaught of socialism.

In the economic sphere capitalism is using the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution and is relying on the powerful, highly organized production mechanism to mobilize, with the help of the state, all resources on a national scale, accelerate

economic growth rates, and maintain the comparatively high efficiency of production

In the political sphere the bourgeoisie craftily combines brutal methods of suppressing the masses with new ways and methods of influencing the working people. With slogans like "social partnership" and "an open society" it is trying to subordinate working-class organizations and dissolve them in the pseudo-democratic multi-party system that is designed to conceal the dictatorship of the imperialist upper strata. Along with this, the monopolies, seeing the failure of their plans to subordinate the working-class movement to the bourgeois political mechanism, are turning more and more often to violent methods to suppress the masses. The machinery of coercion in the imperialist countries is increasing in size and numbers, and new anti-labour laws are being introduced.

In the social sphere monopoly capital is trying, with concessions and sops, to disguise intensified exploitation of the working people in an effort to prevent the class convulsions most dangerous to the bourgeoisie. By making concessions in what is secondary and unimportant in order to preserve what is the most important, Lenin said, capitalism tries to distract the workers from the class struggle and enlarge and consolidate the social base of its rule.

Actually, the working class is being exploited to an increasing degree, and the chief benefits from the use of modern productive forces go to the industrial-financial oligarchy. This leads to an intensification of social antagonisms, economic difficulties in the main capitalist countries, a chronic currency and financial crisis, unemployment and aggravation of inter-imperialist contradictions.

An enormous share of the national wealth is spent by the imperialist countries to prepare for and wage wars. The war-industry concerns use a system of "legal embezzlement," as Lenin put it, to extract vast profits that are guaranteed by the state. The military industrial complex has become imperialism a striking force,

stimulating reactionary trends in the home and foreign policies of the bourgeois countries

The most aggressive detachments of modern imperialism, primarily in the United States and West Germany, still hope to "replay" the historical battles of the 20th century, take revenge, undermine the world influence of socialism, and recreate colonialism in new forms. US imperialism has become the headquarters of anti-communism, the centre of international reaction and militarism. In the past few years alone it has embarked on military intervention against Vietnam, Cuba, Panama and the Dominican Republic, as well as military provocations. It has actively supported Israeli aggression against the Arab countries and reactionary coups in a number of countries. Revival of revanchist and neo-nazi forces in the German Federal Republic is a grave threat to European peace and security.

But the world has fundamentally changed. Imperialism has forever lost the monopoly in settling world affairs that it had before October 1917. It has ceased to be the dominating force on the international scene. Today it is obvious that the chief aim of imperialist strategy—the destruction of the socialist system—cannot be achieved. "Imperialism is powerless to recover the historical initiative it has lost, to turn back the development of the contemporary world", declared the International Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties. Socialism is now on the historical offensive. Such is the natural result of the embodiment in practice of Lenin's teaching concerning the revolutionary process, the conscious, purposeful socialist policy, and the dedicated work of the millions of people who are creating the material and moral might of world socialism.

13 Under conditions when the world system of imperialism is ripe for a socialist revolution, and in a number of sectors has already been destroyed, Lenin attached decisive importance to the development

and consolidation of the forces destined to carry the revolution through to the end

After the October Revolution Lenin assigned the central role among these forces to the working class and the working people of the countries building the new socialist society. Since that turning-point the victorious forces of socialism have become the vanguard of the revolutionary movement. The emergence of socialism in the world arena enhances the revolutionary opportunities of the proletariat of the capitalist countries and holds out new prospects for the development of the national-liberation movement.

Today, as Lenin so brilliantly predicted, socialism has grown into the most influential social force in historical development, a gigantic accelerator of social progress. The face of the modern world is determined by the struggle between "two methods, two political and economic systems—the communist and the capitalist," Lenin said (Vol. 31, p. 456).

Particularly timely at the present stage in the competition between the two systems is Lenin's statement that the chief lever of socialism's influence on the world revolution is its economic policy, the creation of a technical and economic foundation of the new society that would exceed the productive forces of capitalism. "Once we solve this problem," he said, "we shall have certainly and finally won on an international scale" (Vol. 32, p. 437).

The other aspect of the revolutionary strategy of the socialist world, Lenin wrote, is "support of the revolutionary movement of the socialist proletariat in the advanced countries, support of the democratic and revolutionary movement in all countries in general, and especially in the colonies and dependent countries." The CPSU has been consistently guided by these instructions. There has been no revolutionary movement, no action by the masses of the people for their national and social emancipation that has not received effective assistance from Lenin's Party, from the land of the October Revolution.

The influence and prestige of world socialism is predetermined in many ways by the fact that the Marxist-Leninist parties in power "create completely different international relations" To the imperialist policy of war and aggression and the enslavement of other countries and peoples socialism opposes the Leninist policy of peace and friendship among peoples The socialist foreign policy has helped and is helping to draw the masses of the people into a more and more active struggle for the triumph of just, democratic principles in international relations

True to Lenin's precepts, the CPSU works unceasingly to strengthen peace The aim of its foreign-policy activity is to ensure peaceful conditions for the building of socialism and communism, and create a favourable atmosphere for the struggle of the working people of all countries for emancipation and the social and economic progress of all nations At the same time, Lenin pointed out, the peaceful co-existence of countries with opposite systems means a sharp political, economic and ideological struggle between socialism and capitalism, between the working class and the bourgeoisie It has nothing in common with class peace and leaves no doubt about the sacred right of the oppressed peoples to employ every means in their fight for liberation, up to and including armed struggle The Soviet Union is continuing to support the just war for liberation of the Vietnamese people against American imperialism and the just wars of other peoples subjected to imperialist aggression

14 The chief revolutionary force in the industrial capitalist countries is the working class, which is fighting against imperialism in its citadels Lenin had high praise for the proletariat of the industrial countries, saying that it is "our chief hope, our chief support"

Life has effectively rejected the current thesis of the bourgeois-reformist and petty-bourgeois anarchistic theorists that the revolutionary spirit of the working people in the West "is dying out" In class battles in

recent years the working class of the imperialist countries has demonstrated organization, a militant spirit and readiness to take resolute action in the name of democratic and socialist ideals. It has shown its ability to carry the broad masses with it under the new conditions of deep-going economic changes and changes in the social relations and social awareness of the working people. Nowadays the size of the working class has greatly increased. It has become infinitely more organized and politically active and is better educated and better trained. Under the influence of capitalist life itself more and more workers in the new occupations, and intellectuals connected with servicing advanced technology, are coming to realize their complete dependence on the state-monopoly system, are growing convinced of the need to replace capitalism with a new social system, and are merging with the anti-imperialist stream.

The unity of the working class was Lenin's constant concern. Basing himself on the experience of revolutionary struggle and the lessons of the years after the October Revolution, when the opportunist policy of the Right-wing leaders of Social Democracy brought about a split in the ranks of the proletariat and helped to preserve the rule of the bourgeoisie in many European countries, Lenin called on Communists to make every effort to "draw ever broader masses of workers into the fight against capital." It is to Lenin that we owe the idea of a united working-class front that has been adopted by the Communist parties. Supporting unity of action of all detachments of the proletariat, its political parties and trade union organizations, Lenin taught that convictions should not be surrendered, that the principles of revolutionary Marxism and proletarian internationalism should be resolutely upheld.

The chief source of bourgeois influence on the proletariat in Lenin's lifetime was Right-wing Social Democracy and it remains so today. Its policy is objectively helping the monopolies and the capitalist state.

to hold the revolutionary actions of the proletariat in check, is hindering the struggle of the proletariat for socialism, is supporting the foreign policy of imperialism, and is pursuing an anti-communist course. However, an awareness of true class interests, the interests of the fight against imperialism and for the vital rights of the masses, democracy and peace, is penetrating more and more deeply into the midst of Social Democracy. A desire to restore a united front of the working people is growing in the Social-Democratic masses. Communist initiative has already led to some headway being made in this respect in a number of instances.

Ultra-“Left” extremist trends, which, as Lenin noted, are “a kind of penalty for the opportunist sins of the working-class movement,” continue to remain an obstacle on the road to restoration of unity in the ranks of the proletariat. Today “Left” revisionism is, not infrequently, along with Right-wing opportunism, a direct weapon of the monopoly bourgeoisie. The struggle for the unity of the working class presupposes overcoming “Left” as well as Right opportunism.

Lenin considered that the creation of a reliable system of alliances, uniting the working class with all strata that life brings into opposition to the power of the monopolies, was a vital condition for victory in the revolution.

In the majority of the capitalist countries the chief ally of the proletariat is still the peasantry. The transition of agriculture to the machine stage of production has led to the rapid erosion of the peasantry. The monopolies and the capitalist state condemn to want and ruin the main masses of the peasantry, who are actively joining the ranks of those participating in the anti-monopoly coalition.

Growing antagonism between the monopoly bourgeoisie and the urban middle classes, which are supporting the revolutionary working class more and more actively, is characteristic of modern capitalism. The progressive intelligentsia is coming to play an ever more prominent role among the allies of the proletariat.

The scientific and technological revolution has greatly accelerated the process of differentiation among the intelligentsia, turning a considerable section of it into hired workers who, subjected to refined exploitation, are coming closer to the working class as regards interests and status

New groups of young people are entering the revolutionary process. They keenly resent their frustrating social position and lack of opportunity, and are taking a more and more active part in the fight against the capitalist system. Communists welcome the upsurge of the youth movement, including the student movement, seeing it as an important factor in the general anti-monopoly struggle. They are actively participating in the movement, spreading the ideas of scientific communism among the youth, helping it to shake off the influence of Right-wing and Leftist ideas, and persistently explaining the hopelessness of action that is isolated from the general stream of the revolutionary struggle of the working class

In his analysis of the course of class battles in the capitalist countries, Lenin stressed that class contradictions will inevitably become more and more acute and the struggle of the classes will become more and more intense. Under such conditions, acute political crises due to the most varied reasons may "suddenly" arise and develop swiftly. "Where the objective conditions of a profound political crisis exist," Lenin said, "the tiniest conflicts seemingly remote from the real breeding ground of revolution, can be of the most serious importance, as the reason, as the last straw" (Vol. 15, p. 276).

This prevision of the great leader of the revolution is coming true today when large-scale battles of the working people keep flaring up in the most highly-developed capitalist countries. They arise both as a result of the growth of economic contradictions and on the basis of the deep anger of the broad masses at the stifling atmosphere of the total power of state-monopoly capital. These battles are at times spontaneous

This makes even more significant today Lenin's counsel to be equal to the occasion, know the mood of the masses, and not allow any lagging behind the pace of a mass movement in which a revolutionary charge is accumulating

15 Serious blows at the world imperialist system are being inflicted by the national-liberation movement. In our time countries which, as Lenin put it, were kept by colonialists "out of history" for centuries have ceased to be the objects of policy and became its active participants. The prestige of socialist ideas and practice is quickly growing in these countries.

Adapting itself to the new conditions that have emerged in the developing countries, imperialism constantly changes its tactics. It not only resorts to military-political actions, but invests vast material means in the effort to split the national-liberation movement and to destroy its weak and most vulnerable links. In doing so the imperialist politicians count on exploiting the numerous difficulties facing the national states, their economic backwardness.

Lenin repeatedly underscored the historically conditioned peculiarity of what were then colonial countries. "The preponderance of precapitalist relationships is still the main determining feature in these countries, so that there can be no question of a purely proletarian movement in them" (Vol. 31, pp. 242-243). To this day fragmentation of the economy and an uncompleted process of nation and class formation remain their distinguishing feature.

In recent years many of the young national states have been going through a period of fierce class struggle, economic setbacks, coups, and tribal strife. World imperialism speculates on the instability and contradictions of national revolutions. It organizes counter-revolutionary putsches, supports anti-popular military dictatorships, fans nationalism and separatism, and tries to paralyze progressive tendencies. The policy of imperialism and reaction is opposed by the forces wor-

king for a socialist orientation. Life fully confirms the timeliness today of Lenin's counsel skilfully to apply the general principles of revolutionary strategy in the specific conditions of newly free states.

Lenin wrote that "it will be a mistake to assume that the backward peoples must inevitably go through the capitalist stage of development" (Vol. 31, p. 244). History has confirmed this conclusion of Lenin's. In the new era the peoples that have shaken off the yoke of colonialism can follow the road of social progress, by-passing capitalism, provided they are guided by revolutionary forces and draw on the support of world socialism. Some states have taken this road, they have nationalized heavy and in some cases also medium industry, and carried out agrarian reforms. They are encouraging peasant co-operation and are restricting and squeezing out foreign capital and the local bourgeoisie.

But for transition to socialism, Lenin points out, it is not enough to abolish the property of the exploiters and to socialize the means of production. "In order to achieve this an enormous step forward must be taken in developing the productive forces, it is necessary to overcome the resistance (frequently passive, which is particularly stubborn and particularly difficult to overcome) of the numerous survivals of small-scale production, it is necessary to overcome the enormous force of habit and conservatism which are connected with these survivals" (Vol. 29, p. 421). The road to the victory of socialism in the national states lies through a historical period of transitional stages of social development during which the material and social prerequisites of socialism are gradually prepared and a working class and an intelligentsia loyal to the people take shape.

Of cardinal importance is Lenin's thesis that the guarantee of success of the national-liberation revolutions is the active enlistment of the masses, and primarily the growing working class, in the guidance of society, its alliance with the peasantry, broad democ-

racy, and the support of world socialism and the international working-class movement

16 A major source of the all-conquering strength of Leninism is the proletarian internationalism that is inherent in it. Lenin regarded consistent observance of the principles of internationalism as the true criterion of the revolutionary in our era, as a guarantee of the victories of the working class. "Capital is an international force. To vanquish it, an international workers' alliance, an international workers' brotherhood, is needed" (Vol. 30, p. 293).

Lenin considered the proper correlation of the national and the international in the activities of the proletarian parties, of all detachments of the revolutionary movement, to be the key issue of internationalist policy. Vigorously opposing national nihilism of every kind, Lenin taught revolutionaries consistently to take into account national interests, to defend the principles of equality of all nations, their right to sovereignty and independent development. He showed that the struggle for socialism, to build it and to defend it, is the best way to fight for the national interests of the people. The effective accomplishment by each detachment of revolutionaries of the task of national and social emancipation in their country is an indispensable prerequisite of the struggle for the common interests of the world socialist revolution.

At the same time Lenin emphasized that internationalist policy was not confined to the national contribution to the common cause of the world proletariat. Loyalty to proletarian internationalism implies also association of all the national detachments of revolutionary fighters in a single union to defeat international imperialism.

Not only the proletariat of big powers, but also the working class of small countries, as they fight for their national rights and interests, Lenin said, should always bear in mind their duty "to fight *against* small-nation narrow-mindedness, seclusion and isolation, consider the whole and the general, subordinate the

particular to the general interest" (Vol 22, p 347) Any other approach ultimately leads to nationalism, that deadly enemy of the revolutionary cause Nationalism, "by its tactics of division and dismemberment is reducing to nil the great call for the rallying and unity of the proletarians of all nations, all races and all languages" (Vol 6, p 521)

In the present situation proletarian internationalism becomes especially vital, it becomes a major prerequisite for social progress, for rallying all revolutionary forces for a further offensive against imperialism

Practical revolutionary experience, beginning with the Great October Socialist Revolution, which was the first in history to offer an example of the merging in a single stream of all revolutionary and democratic movements, has fully demonstrated the correctness and fruitfulness of the Leninist approach to the question of the unity of the revolutionary forces The victory of socialist revolutions in a large group of countries, the successes of the revolutionary working-class movement, the triumph of national liberation revolutions, the establishment of national democratic states—these are fruits of the unity, co-operation and mutual aid of the forces of the world social revolution

International solidarity was and remains the cornerstone of the communist and working-class movement While pointing to the importance of taking account of the concrete, specific conditions in which each party operates, Lenin always upheld the unity of internationalist tactics in the communist movement The task, he wrote in his work "Left-Wing Communism, An Infantile Disorder," "consists in learning to apply the general and basic principles of communism to the *specific* relations between classes and parties, to the *specific* features in the objective development towards communism, which are different in each country and which we must be able to discover, study and predict" (Vol 31, p 89) Unity in the basic, the fundamental and essential is not violated, but ensu-

red, according to Lenin, by diversity in the particular, in the local conditions, in method of approach

The importance of the unity of the revolutionary forces grows in the course of historical development. The more mature the objective conditions for social revolution and the greater the successes of the forces fighting to carry it out, the more active is the resistance of the class enemy and, consequently, the more important is it to ensure close co-ordination of revolutionary action.

Half a century ago Lenin found it necessary to add to the communist watchword, "Workers of all lands, unite!" a call to the peoples of the colonies and dependent countries "Workers of all lands and oppressed peoples, unite!" Today, the international communist movement, loyal to the ideas of Marx, Engels and Lenin, has put forward a new slogan, a slogan according with the enriched contemporary concept of revolutionary proletarian internationalism "Peoples of the socialist countries, proletarians, all democratic forces in the capitalist countries, newly-free peoples and peoples still oppressed—join the common struggle against imperialism, for peace, national independence, social progress, democracy and socialism!"

17 The Third (Communist) International, founded on Lenin's initiative, united on a world scale Marxism-Leninism with the international working-class movement. It successfully performed the tasks confronting it: restored to the working-class movement its international character, preserved its revolutionary substance so gravely damaged by the treachery of the leaders of the Second International, opened a revolutionary perspective before the working class and working masses generally of the capitalist world, charted clearcut lines of action in the new historical conditions, played an important role in building the Communist parties and uniting them ideologically and organizationally. The Comintern enjoined the Communists and the working people of all countries unfalteringly to

come out in defence of the first socialist country

For a quarter of a century the Communist International, guided by Lenin's ideas, provided clear answers to the basic questions posed before the working class and all humanity—the question of war and peace, of the fight for democracy, against fascism, the question of the development of the national-liberation movement, of the role of socialism and the ways leading the masses to the socialist revolution. Many of the ideas put forward by the Comintern found a lasting place in the arsenal of Marxism-Leninism.

The Comintern was a school of Leninism for the many Communist parties, which continued, developed and consolidated the revolutionary trend in the international working-class movement. It is only under the leadership of such parties, Lenin said, that "the proletariat is capable of displaying the full might of its revolutionary onslaught, capable of displaying its full might" (Vol 31, p 188).

Lenin gave constant attention to the international communist movement, its rise and development. He formulated the basic principles of the activities of the Marxist party of the new type.

The Marxist-Leninist party of our time is a revolutionary party that directs all its activities at preparing the proletariat "for the conquest of political power, moreover, in the form of a dictatorship of the proletariat" (Vol 31, p 189). Such a party is the embodiment of unwavering dedication to the revolution, boundless courage and resolution.

The conscious vanguard of the class, closely linked with and marching at the head of the masses. The party, Lenin said, should become "the vanguard of the revolutionary proletariat without permitting it to become divorced from the masses, but, on the contrary, by linking it more and more closely with them, imbuing them with revolutionary consciousness and rousing them for the revolutionary struggle" (Vol 33, p 209), an internationalist party, for which, as Lenin said, "the struggle against opportunist and petty-bourgeois

pacifist distortions of the concept and policy of internationalism is a primary and cardinal task" (Vol 31, p 149),

a united, fighting organization, built on the principles of democratic centralism, able to rally the working class, the working people generally, in revolutionary struggle, uncompromising towards every variety of opportunism and splitting activities To the ideas and practical line of Marxism, Lenin pointed out, corresponds the "Marxist centralized political party" (Vol 30, p 62),

a party that works tirelessly to master the complex art of applying the general principles of Marxism to concrete conditions, able in any situation to fight for the ultimate aims of the working-class movement. Lenin resolutely condemned "the attempts to represent the inclusion of limited demands in the programme as opportunism, and all and any attempts to use limited demands to obscure and sidetrack the basic revolutionary task" (Vol 42, p 428) The Communist Party rejects both the opportunist thesis "movement is everything, the ultimate goal, nothing", and dogmatic sectarianism which passively awaits momentous events, while being utterly incapable of rallying and uniting forces to bring them about

Developing on the basis of Lenin's ideas, the world communist movement has today become a powerful force, the most influential political force of our time. Important landmarks in the development of this movement are the international conferences, in whose documents are elaborated questions of contemporary urgency contained in the heritage of Leninist ideas

Their struggle to heighten the socialist consciousness of the working class and to combat bourgeois ideology is of the utmost importance for strengthening the positions of the Communist parties and for waging a mounting offensive against imperialism. The dissemination of scientific, Marxist-Leninist ideology among the masses, the struggle to win the minds and

hearts of people has assumed particularly wide scope and poignancy

The struggle between the two ideologies—the socialist and the bourgeois—reflects, Lenin emphasized, the irreconcilability of the class positions of the proletarians and the bourgeoisie, the fact that the two social systems are diametrically opposed to each other. It is only by mastering socialist ideology that the working masses can advance from an understanding of their current needs and immediate tasks to a grasp of their fundamental interests and historical perspectives. In a world in the grip of class struggle there is not, and cannot be, any non-class or supra-class ideology. "Hence," Lenin emphasized, "to belittle the socialist ideology in any way, to turn aside from it in the slightest degree means to strengthen bourgeois ideology" (Vol. 5, p. 384).

The imperialist bourgeoisie maintains its power over the peoples of its countries by both violence and deceit. It resorts increasingly to ideological means of enslaving the masses, it has recourse to "total" ideological mobilization of all the reactionary forces under the banner of anti-communism and anti-Sovietism.

In the ideological struggle there is no place for neutralism and compromise. Marxists-Leninists reject the opportunist thesis of peaceful co-existence in the sphere of ideology. The best weapon against bourgeois ideology is the creative spirit of Leninism, the continuous development and enrichment of Marxist-Leninist theory through generalization of new historical experience.

The communist movement has developed in a struggle against reformism, against all types of opportunism, Right-wing and "Leftist" revisionism.

Contemporary revisionism "assimilates" the ideas of various anti-Leninist trends which in times past suffered fiasco in open combat with Marxism-Leninism, and tries to use them to penetrate the Communist Parties in order to impose its own line upon them.

taking advantage of manifestations of ideological immaturity and dogmatism Revisionism, Lenin said, always means political surrender in the face of difficulties, in the face of the class enemy It is a retreat from proletarian positions, a supplanting of Marxism by bourgeois and petty-bourgeois concepts Revisionism in theory paves the way for opportunism in practice, expressed in the striving to incorporate the workers' movement in the capitalist political system

To the machinations of imperialism and splitters, the Communists of different countries reply by drawing closer together in their political and theoretical positions and uniting their ranks The best way to overcome differences in the international communist movement is by practical struggle for common goals It is not enough to declare for unity in words, unity is won in joint actions and struggle

IV ALONG LENIN'S ROAD—TO COMMUNISM

18 The building of communism is our general prospect Lenin regarded communism as the natural result of the development of socialism, the revealing and realization of the opportunities and advantages inherent in it Transition to communism requires long and serious preparation of material and moral preconditions The Party's entire theoretical and political activity is directed to this end

The scientific conception of communism has nothing in common either with the pharisaical "philosophy" of poverty as a "blessing" or with the bourgeois-philistine cult of things Material wealth in the Marxist-Leninist understanding is created to satisfy the reasonable requirements of people and is a necessary prerequisite for the development of human abilities, for the individual to find fulfilment

Lenin's ideas on the essence and principles of communism, on the forms and methods for building it, have been elaborated by the Party into an integral

and scientifically substantiated programme for the building of a communist society. It serves as the basis for solving major political, economic, ideological and organizational problems which, as was stressed by the 23rd Congress, are in the centre of attention of the Party.

Lenin attached decisive importance to the building of the economic basis of the communist system "We value communism only when it is based on economic facts" (Vol 29, p 191) As Lenin saw it, the all-round development of the productive forces, and a sharp rise in labour productivity based on the latest achievements of science and technology are required for the transition to the higher phase of communist society "Communism," he stressed, "is the higher productivity of labour—compared with that existing under capitalism—of voluntary, class-conscious and united workers employing advanced techniques" (Vol 29, p 427)

Advancing along Lenin's road, the CPSU considers the main task in building communism to be primarily the creation of its material and technical base. The essence of the Party's economic policy is to ensure—on the basis of the all-round utilization of the achievements of science and technology, of the industrial development of the whole of social production, of an improvement in its efficiency and labour productivity—a further considerable rise in industry, high stable rates in the development of agriculture and, as a result of this, to achieve a substantial rise in the standard of living of the people, the fuller satisfaction of the material and cultural requirements of all Soviet people.

The USSR national economy has at present entered a stage when the intensification of production is increasingly becoming a basic trend in its development. This involves profound qualitative changes in the entire national economy, in each of its sectors, the creation of a modern, most rational system of organization and management of production, all-round

technical progress, the practical utilization of the latest findings of science, further industrialization of all branches of the economy, improvement of inter-branch and intra-branch patterns and proportions in the economy, systematic specialization of production, effective utilization of material resources

The building of communism calls for the extensive utilization of the achievements of the present-day scientific and technological revolution, which brings with it qualitative changes in the technology of production, energetics, the implements and objects of labour, in the organization of management, in the nature of the labour activities of people. It also profoundly influences the worker himself, helping to raise his educational and cultural level and broaden his scientific and technical outlook. A characteristic feature of our time is the ever more intensive transformation of science into a direct productive force of society. The rate of growth of the economy to an ever greater degree today depends on the rate of research and the introduction of its results into production.

Science and technology in the present-day world have become an important arena of the competition between the two opposing socio-economic systems. A protracted and persistent struggle will take place here. The introduction of science into diverse spheres of social life, the fuller utilization of the opportunities afforded by scientific and technological progress for accelerating economic development and satisfying the requirements of all members of society—such is the prime economic and political task. In guiding the building of communism, the CPSU proceeds from Lenin's counsel "that learning shall not remain a dead letter, or a fashionable catch-phrase—that learning shall really become part of our very being, that it shall actually and fully become a constituent element of our social life" (Vol. 33, p. 489). Running the economy in a Leninist way, in a communist way, implies reliance on science.

19 The building of communism presupposes perfecting the entire system of economic relations in socialist society Lenin pointed out that socialism represents "a higher type of social organization of labour compared with capitalism. This is what is important, this is the source of the strength and a guarantee that the final triumph of communism is inevitable" (Vol 29, p 419)

The gigantic growth of the productive forces in our country and the development of the scientific and technological revolution urgently demand a further improvement in the methods and forms of managing the economy. This is the purpose of the economic reform which is being carried out in accordance with the decisions of the March and September 1965 Plenary Meetings of the CPSU Central Committee and the 23rd Party Congress. Long-term planning as the leading form of general state planning, and also scientifically substantiated forecasts of the development of the economy and society covering a lengthy period are playing a growing role.

Lenin attached great importance to the socialist emulation of the working people in developing social production.

The Party, carrying out Lenin's instructions, strives to fully use all forms of material and moral incentives to labour, to develop socialist emulation which opens up wide scope for initiative and creative innovation. It is necessary that the entire matter of management be organized in such a way, Lenin taught, that "every politically conscious worker feels that he is not only the master in his own factory but that he is also a representative of the country, feels his responsibility" (Vol 27, p 403)

The building of communism is the cause of the entire people, the cause of every Soviet person. On his consciousness, initiative, culture and professional skill depends the successful fulfilment of the economic programme of communism.

Deep-going changes are taking place in agriculture. Agricultural production is to an ever greater degree acquiring an industrial nature, its technical equipment is on the up-grade. A long-term programme of land reclamation, of introducing chemicals and improving efficiency in agriculture and animal husbandry is being carried out. The state farms are growing stronger economically. The level of socialization of co-operative-collective farm property is increasing as a result of the growth of the indivisible funds of collective farms and the development of state-collective farm and inter-collective farm production ties. The Party is doing everything necessary for the further development of agriculture. A major event in the life of the countryside, in the life of the entire Soviet country, was the Third USSR Congress of Collective Farmers, which adopted the new Model Rules of the Collective Farm, the law of collective farm life in the period of building communism.

The growth of labour productivity and social wealth is accompanied by a steady improvement in the well-being of the people, housing conditions are improving from year to year, the socialist principle of distribution according to work is being more effectively applied, public consumption funds are growing. These achievements would have been even greater were it possible to channel all the country's resources to the development of the economy, to improving the living standards and raising culture. The state is compelled to allocate large funds for defence in order to maintain it at the highest modern level.

20. Lenin taught that economic achievements in building communism to a great extent depend on the successful solution of socio-political problems. The class structure of society in the process of building communism develops towards social homogeneity. Lenin's idea of the gradual elimination of essential distinctions between mental and manual workers is being realized.

The growth of material production on the basis

of the most up-to-date technology and the considerable rise in labour productivity facilitate the development of both forms of property towards the creation of a single communist property, the evening of cultural and living conditions of the rural and urban population, a change in the nature of labour, and the gradual elimination of class distinctions

As Lenin foresaw, the socialist nations of our country are experiencing growing prosperity, drawing closer together and extending their mutual intercourse. The closer this intercourse, and the greater the understanding of the tasks of the country as a whole, the more successfully are manifestations of parochialism and national egoism overcome. Consistently carrying out the Leninist national policy, the Party is irreconcilable towards any and all manifestations of nationalism and chauvinism, national exclusiveness and isolation. The Party educates the working people in a spirit of love for their socialist country, in a spirit of brotherhood of free peoples. Socialism has given rise to a new type of patriotism, organically fused with internationalism.

The entire labour and socio-political life of our society is built on the solid foundation of socialist democracy. "The greater, the more responsible this new historical problem is," Lenin wrote, "the larger must be the number of those enlisted for the purpose of taking an independent part in solving it" (Vol. 27, p. 469). Socialist democracy is built on the conscious discipline and organization of the working people.

The Party attaches fundamental importance to the development and unqualified support of businesslike criticism and self-criticism of shortcomings and omissions, of everything worthless and outdated which hinders our work. The Party, in all its activities, as Lenin insisted, is resolutely uprooting bureaucracy, lack of organization, red tape, slipshod work, negligence and tendencies to replace real work by logomachy. A class, political appraisal of anti-social phenomena profoundly alien to socialism, such as the plun-

dering of socialist property, money-grubbing and violation of labour discipline and public order and the struggle against these negative phenomena are an important function of the socialist state, of the entire public, the civic duty of every Soviet person.

The scope and complexity of the tasks being solved enhance the role of the conscious, organizing vanguard in the life of our society—the Leninist Party of Communists. Armed with Marxist-Leninist theory and a rich store of political experience, the Party lends a planned and purposeful character to every aspect of the work of building communism.

21 Lenin regarded the building of communism as a complex task in which the solution of economic and socio-political problems is organically linked with the moulding of the new man, with the education and upbringing of people, with giving them "all-round development and an all-round training" (Vol. 31, p. 50). Communist ideology plays an active role in this educational work.

Marxist-Leninist ideology is a consistent expression of the basic interests of the working class, of all the working people, and at the same time it is that scientific theory, tested by the experience of socialism, which provides an objectively true picture of the world, it is a reliable guide in practical activities. The 23rd CPSU Congress stressed that the education of the working people in a spirit of high political consciousness and a communist attitude to labour should be in the centre of the Party's ideological activities.

The moulding of a communist world outlook and a communist morality is taking place under conditions of a most acute ideological struggle in the world arena. This demands a consistent class policy in matters concerning education, it demands clarity and precision in ideological positions, the further raising of revolutionary vigilance, a consistent struggle against indifference to politics, against survivals of the private-property, petty-bourgeois mentality, against manifestations of a nihilistic attitude towards the gains of

socialism, and the penetration of bourgeois and revisionist views

The lofty moral and political qualities, humane principles and moral standards of Soviet man are moulded by the entire socialist system, are formed above all in the process of the active participation of the working people in production and social and political life and depend on the content and scope of the ideological activities of Party organizations. Our Party constantly stresses the need to resolve economic and political problems in organic unity with ideological and educational work.

The Party's ideological influence, the effectiveness of ideological work, directly depends on the level of theoretical thought, on the scientific elaboration of urgent problems of communist construction. Lenin pointed out that the Party should "always carry on propaganda for the proletarian ideology—the theory of scientific socialism, viz., Marxism—guard it against distortion and develop it further" (Vol. 5, p. 342). Fulfilling Lenin's behest, the CPSU devotes great attention to theoretical assessment of practical activities, to the mastery by Party cadres and all Communists of the fundamentals of Marxist-Leninist theory, to improving the system of political education, political information, the work of the press, radio and television.

The Party gives constant attention to the improvement of the general educational and higher schools and exerts every effort to ensure that they meet to the fullest possible extent the requirements of communist construction and modern scientific and technological progress.

Lenin attached great importance to the role of literature and the arts in creating the spiritual prerequisites of communism in educating the new man. A society building communism is profoundly interested in the flourishing of literature and all other forms of the creative arts. Their social value is determined by high craftsmanship, an uncompromising ideology.

gical stand, and true Party fervour in the affirmation of communist ideals

To learn communism—this is Lenin's counsel to Young Communists, to youths and girls Industry, a thirst for knowledge, ideological conviction, patriotic selflessness and internationalism—all these qualities of the Soviet youth are gratifying proof that they are faithfully carrying out Lenin's behests, that they are striving to live and work the way the great Lenin taught them

"We are the party of the future and the future belongs to the youth," Lenin wrote "We are a party of innovators, and it is always the youth that most eagerly follows the innovators" (Vol 11, p 354) The Party attaches great importance to the conscious participation of the youth in social and political life, and has faith in their strength and potential It considers the task posed by Lenin of the communist education of the youth "to train a generation that is fully capable of building communism" (Vol 29, p 111), to be a prime task of the Party and the nation

The building of communism, as Lenin said, is a titanic task, it will demand of us far greater exertion of effort than hitherto Life poses new tasks and problems which require profound study and creative solutions The guarantee of successful advance is the leading role of the Communist Party The road of Lenin led the Soviet people, under the guidance of the Party, to the victory of the October Revolution and socialism And following Lenin's road we shall reach communism

The immortal ideas and works of Lenin, the great exploit that was his life, are an inexhaustible source of inspiration and optimism for Soviet people, for the working people of the entire world

Lenin's bright genius illuminates the road of revolutionary struggle and constructive endeavour

To live and fight as Lenin did means to devote all one's strength, knowledge and energy to the most humane and just cause on earth—to the struggle for the complete liberation of the working people from oppres-

sion and exploitation, for the victory of communist ideals, for a better future for mankind

Continuing Lenin's cause, the Soviet people by their persistent labours are multiplying the public wealth, developing socialist democracy, science and culture, working tirelessly to strengthen the defensive might of their socialist country, to build a life worthy of man

Continuing Lenin's cause, the Soviet people, under the leadership of the Communist Party, are closing their ranks still more solidly, strengthening the fraternity and friendship of the peoples of the USSR

Continuing Lenin's cause, the Soviet people are strengthening international solidarity with the peoples of the other socialist countries, with the international working class, with the fighters for democracy and national liberation, for stable peace, democracy and socialism, for the triumph of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism

The ideas of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin are embodied in the activities of the Communists, in the struggle of the working class and all working people, in the onward march of socialism and communism, in the irreversible social progress of mankind

Lenin's name and cause will live forever!

ИДЕИ И ДЕЛО ЛЕНИНА БЕССМЕРТНЫ
(Тезисы ЦК КПСС
к 100-летию со дня рождения В. И. Ленина)
на английском языке

Цена 12 коп.

